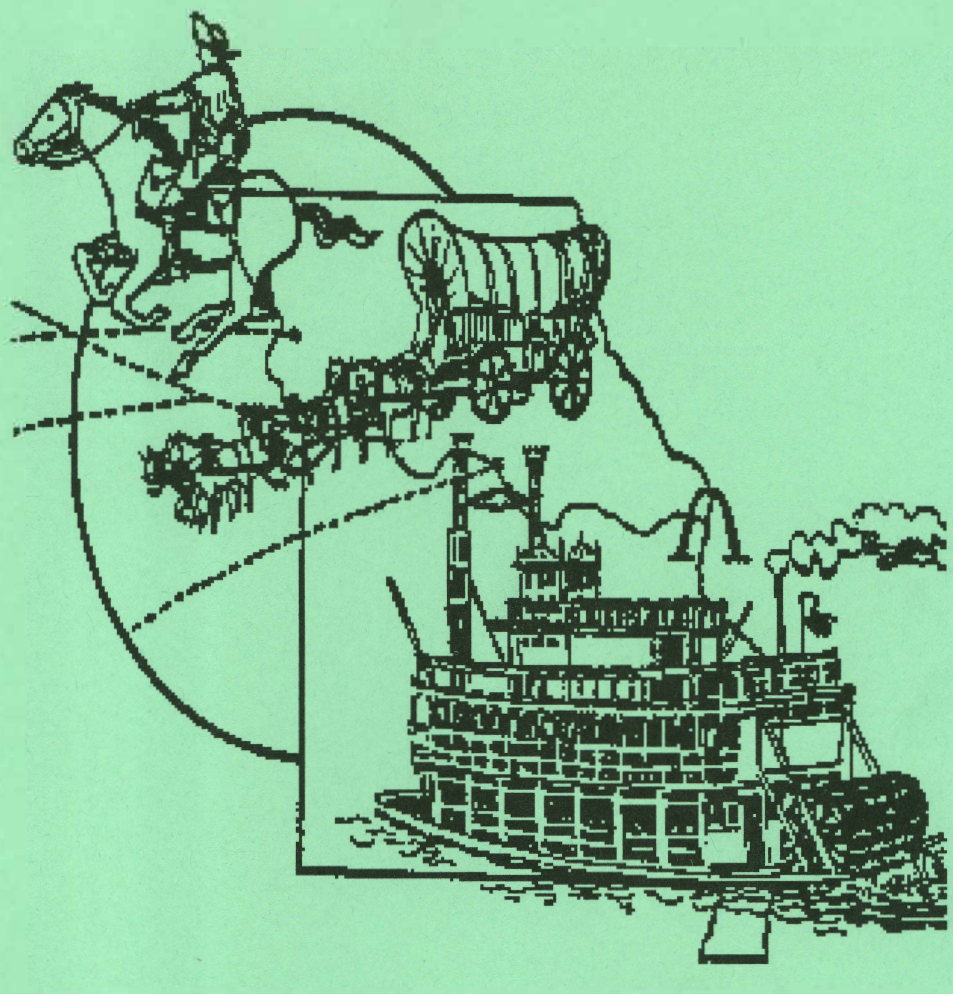

Toward The Setting Sun

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TOWARD THE SETTING SUN

The Historical Journal of the Missouri Conference

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From The Editor.....

We enter a new year with a host of commemorations facing us. It's still the sesquicentennial of the Civil War, which continues to mark our history day. In 1863, the Battle of Gettysburg was fought. The great Confederate fortress of Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant's forces. And the guerilla warfare in Missouri raged on.

At the 2011 meeting of the United Methodist Historical Society, the President of the Society said to me that the next meeting would be in Gettysburg, PA., and would focus on the Civil War. Then he said, I know the war was different west of the Mississippi, but I don't know how. Could you present a paper on the war in Missouri and how it affected the church? Two of my favorite topics – the War Between the States and Missouri Methodism. So, a year's worth of research and writing later, I presented the paper to the Society. The majority of the attendees, of course, came from Pennsylvania and points north and east. In short, they were "Yankees". And they were amazed that there was a southern perspective on the war! In fact, one lady said to me afterward, "I can see why Missouri is in the South Central Jurisdiction!" I didn't say in reply that Kansas is also in that jurisdiction!

The paper that I presented at Gettysburg is now reproduced in these pages. I have made some minor additions and editorial changes, but it remains the paper I presented there. I hope that it will bring some insight on our history to you, and perhaps help somewhat in healing the wounds of the war.

On another subject, have you looked at the cover recently? All the images – the Pony Express rider, the covered wagon, the steamboat are about the growth of a young nation. They represent energy, optimism, hope for a better future. The image that is not there, but always present, is the Methodist circuit rider. These pioneers of the gospel brought good news to the frontier, an ethical emphasis that was not always present before, and the elements of a strong church that would dominate Protestantism through much of the 19th and early 20th centuries. We have a proud heritage, and it is an honor to edit a journal that preserves a part of that heritage.

John O. Gooch, Editor

Missouri Methodism And The Civil War

1844 – 1865

John O. Gooch

The Civil War was different in Missouri. First, there was only one major battle, at Wilson's Creek, and it was in the opening weeks of the war. Missouri was considered in rebellion and was occupied by Union forces from the fall of 1861 to the end of the war. That meant that the primary form of warfare was guerillas attacking the occupying forces. The second difference was that the war in Missouri began long before the first shots on Fort Sumter. It began with the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1856 and the application of "popular sovereignty" to Kansas. The war in the church began even before that, with the contest of the Northern and Southern branches of the church for the loyalty of Missouri Methodism. We will begin this survey with the war of altar against altar, and then turn to the shooting war beginning in 1856.

Altar Against Altar

The General Conference of 1844 was deeply split over the question of slavery. The consensus of the conference was that they would never be able to reach an agreement on that issue that would satisfy both the northern and southern wings of the church. In what can only be identified as the work of the Holy Spirit (as one historian of the conference has done), the confere`nce passed a Plan of Separation that allowed the Southern conferences to separate and form their own body if they deemed it necessary. The Southern conferences met at Louisville, Kentucky in May of 1845, and implemented the Plan of Separation by organizing the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The annual conferences in the Southern states approved the action of the Louisville Convention and agreed that the new church was a separate body of American Methodism, with all the rights and privileges of the church, as provided by the Plan of Separation. The Northern conferences, however, refused to ratify the Plan of Separation (as required by the constitution of the church) and declared that the Southern church was, in fact, a secession. This disagreement over the language of separation would be a barrier to reunion for man years.

According to the Plan of Separation, neither branch of the church would proselytize in the territory of the other. Since the Northern conferences did not ratify the Plan of Separation, they felt free to proselytize in the border states, which led to all sorts of conflicts. A Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was reorganized by the General Conference of 1848, on the grounds that the South had "forfeited all right to be considered a sound branch of Methodism."[1]

The separation brought turmoil to Missouri churches. Andrew Monroe says "the ministry and the membership were more or less anxious about the results of the division"[2] – a masterpiece of understatement! Monroe himself, who had pushed hard for Missouri to become part of the Southern church, was engaged in controversy over the division. He and an old friend, J.M. Jamison ("we had been as David and Jonathan") clashed in print in the pages of the Western Advocate concerning the division, and their friendship was broken along with the church when Jamison moved to Illinois.

Soon, Northern preachers were crossing into Missouri to set up societies and invite Southern Methodists to come back into the "Mother Church." The language of "Mother Church" reflected the stance of the Northern church that the Louisville Convention was really an act of secession, and not a separation. Southern Methodists insisted that the two were co-equal branches of the same church. The actions of Northern preachers caused serious conflicts in Missouri Methodism. For example, in 1850 Andrew Monroe was on the Shelbyville Circuit and Jacob Lanius was the Presiding Elder for the Columbia District. Monroe wrote to Lanius, asking for help, since a Northern Methodist preacher was trying to start a church in Shelbyville, some 60 miles from the Mississippi River and so protected from his actions by the Plan of Separation. Monroe said to Lanius "his object appears to be to court opposition until something is done to make him cry persecution."[3] Monroe begged Lanius to come to Shelbyville and refute the northern "agitators." The efforts of the Northern preachers bore fruit, however. The Missouri-Arkansas annual conference of the Northern church

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[1] Charles Elliott, A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South West from 1844 -1864. Cincinnati: Poe and Hitchcock, 1868. p.
[2] Andrew Monroe, Recollections, p. 151
[3] Letters to Lanius,

in 1853 reported 3,165 members with 690 probationers, 63 local preachers, and 40 traveling preachers.[4]

In spite of the growth of Northern Methodism, Southern Methodism dominated the Missouri landscape in these years, and it was the Northern church that suffered the most. For example, in 1856 at Rochester in Andrew County, William Sellers (a Northern preacher) held a meeting. He was asked not to continue with the meeting, but he persisted. As a result, he was tarred and feathered and run out of town. [5] He had earlier been run out of northeast Missouri, partly because he was trying to win Southern Methodists to the Northern church, and partly because he was accused of helping slaves escape to Illinois.

On a more formal note, in 1854 a joint stock company of Jackson, Cape Girardeau County, offered buildings and grounds to the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to establish a school. Since Cape Girardeau County was a border county, the Plan of Separation allowed for Northern churches in the county. The conference accepted the offer, teachers were hired, and the school organized. The Trustees then applied to the State Legislature for a charter. In February, 1855, the House, after lengthy discussion, voted 60-36 against granting the charter. The reason for rejecting the request were: the Methodist Episcopal Church was an abolition church, and the object of sending missionaries into the state was simply ending slavery.[6] When a similar proposal was made to establish a University at Jefferson City, a similar result came from the action of the Legislature. The Jefferson City Land Company had promised land and (apparently) financial support for a university sponsored by the Methodist Episcopal Church, but the M.E. Church, South and the State Legislature frustrated the attempt.[7]

So it was the Northern branch of the church that suffered the most during these years. The 1845 session of the Missouri Conference (the conference which decided whether to go north or south) reported 23,781 white and 2, 529 black members. A year

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[4] Frank C. Tucker, The Methodist Church in Missouri, 1798 -1939. Nashville, Tennessee: Parthenon Press, 1966, p. 122

[5] Elliott, op. cit., p. 79

[6] Elliott, op.cit., p. 72. See also the Journal of the Missouri Annual Conference, 1858

[7] Theodore H. Wolff, "A Narrative of the St. Louis Annual Conference The Methodist Church" Journal of the St. Louis Conference, 1961 p. 94

later, the Missouri and St. Louis Conferences of the M.E. Church, South, reported 22,408 white and 2,329 black members. (The formation of the St. Louis Conference had been approved by the General Conference of 1844.) The Northern church reported 1,578 members, which is probably a fairly accurate count. Not until 1852 do we again have reliable statistics for the Missouri Conference of the Northern church. In that year, the Missouri – Arkansas Conference reported 5,064 members. That same year the Southern branch of the church reported a total of 26, 213 members in the Missouri and St. Louis conferences.

The two branches of the church interpreted the division in radically different terms. The Southerners saw it as a separation, legally provided for by the Plan of Separation passed by the 1844 General Conference. But the Northerners saw it as a secession, which left the seceding churches with no rights. The sticking point was property. If the division were a separation, then the Southern church had the right to church properties in its areas, along with a share of the Book Fund, which provided the clergy pension funds. If it were a secession, then they had no property rights. The Northern Church, citing secession, refused to recognize either the retention of property by the Southerners, or the division of the Book Fund. The Southern church took legal action, bringing suit in New York and Cincinnati. The Cincinnati case reached the Supreme Court of the United States in 1854. That court ultimately declared that the Plan of Separation was legally binding upon the church, and that the 1844 General Conference did have the authority to divide the church. This settled the immediate question of property ownership, but the question of separation/secession would be a bone of contention between the two branches of episcopal Methodism for years to come.

Both the Northern and Southern churches established "papers" in these years. The Southern church began publishing The Saint Louis Christian Advocate in 1851, with David Rice McAnally as editor. He dreamed of the paper as "an instrument for the increase of knowledge, particularly religious and moral, and the stimulation of the minds of the readers."[8] The Northern paper, The Central Christian Advocate, began publishing in 1856, with the sponsorship of the General Conference. Charles Elliott became editor in 1860, following long service as editor of the Western Christian

[8] Tucker, op. cit., p. 129

Advocate. He and McAnally carried on a verbal duel, made intense because both of their offices were in the same building in St. Louis. Tradition has it that they often met but never spoke. Elliott's office was directly above McAnally's and Elliott hung a large Union flag outside his window. He thought it was a great victory that McAnally did all his work "under the Union flag."

BLEEDING MISSOURI

Then the shooting war began. In 1854, Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois moved the Kansas-Nebraska Act through Congress. The act, in essence, provided for the formation of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. It left the question of whether the new territories would be slave or free to the vote of the settlers in them. This abrogated the Missouri Compromise of 1821, as well as the Compromise of 1850, and threatened the balance of slave and free state Senators in the U.S. Senate. Both sections of the country immediately began to plan for putting Kansas in their camp. (It was generally agreed that Nebraska would be a free state.) Nearly 100% of Missouri's congressional delegation supported Douglas' bill.[9] They were well aware of the rich land just across the border and knew to which areas Missourians would lay claim. These Missourians were predominantly small slave-holders and wanted Kansas to be a slave state. "Many slaveholders in western Missouri resented having another free-soil boundary and regarded the prospect of a free Kansas, where slaves could quickly escape to freedom, and the presence of slave-stealing abolitionists as a real threat to their economic interests." [10] So Missourians moved quickly to stake out claims in the rich lands of eastern Kansas. Differences over slavery escalated quarrels over land claims into bloody conflicts. Jeremy Neely says that, for both North and South, the struggle for Kansas became "a fight for the political, moral, and economic future of both the West and the entire republic."[11]

Who was eligible to vote in Kansas? That is, who would control the legislature and write the constitution on which basis Kansas would seek admission to the Union? Douglas' bill apparently left that ambiguous, but it seems clear that one did not have to

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[9] Jeremy Neely, The Border Between Them: Violence and Reconciliation on the Kansas-Missouri Line. Columbia, MO, University of Missouri Press, 2007. p. 36
[10] Ibid. p. 37
[11] Ibid., p. 38

be living in Kansas in order to vote. The intention to settle was proof enough. In 1854, when the Territory elected J.W. Whitfield as a delegate to Congress, many Missourians crossed over the line just to vote. In the election for representatives to the territorial legislature, David Rice Atchison and Claiborne Jackson led a large contingent of Missourians into Kansas, specifically to vote. The territorial census indicated 2,905 eligible voters. The final tally showed that 6,307 votes were cast, with 5,427 going to pro-slavery candidates.[12] At the same time, settlers were coming from the New England and other northern states, many of them extremely poor, some of them with no experience in farming, but nearly all with an abolitionist fervor. They were recruited and supported by the New England Emigrant Aid Society, and other, similar, societies in the North. Part of their support was what were called "Beecher's Bibles," shipments of rifles in crates marked "Bibles" and purchased in part by the fund-raising efforts of Henry Ward Beecher.

On May 21, 1856, a proslavery posse attacked Lawrence, Kansas. They had been authorized by the sheriff to get rid of the Emigrant Aid Society's (abolitionist) hotel and the free-soil newspapers. This they did. No one was killed or injured in this raid, only property destroyed. But the incident inflamed John Brown. He vowed to enforce God's will (a holy war against slaveholders) by violence.

After the attack on Lawrence, Brown led a party of men to Pottawatomie Creek. There they murdered five unarmed proslavery settlers. This was the beginning of open civil war in Kansas Territory. Retaliation followed, and blood was spilled across the plains.

Abolitionist leaders in Kansas included Jim Lane, James Montgomery, and Charles R. Jennison. Their followers were known as "Jayhawkers," after a bird that was said to torture its victims before killing them. Jennison's followers were also known as "Redlegs" from the red gaiters they wore over their boots. Their first goal was to drive southern, pro-slavery, settlers from Kansas. With that accomplished, they set their sights on Missouri.

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[12] Ibid., p. 45

Montgomery threatened to drive out all the people in the West Point and Butler, Missouri areas, just as he had earlier driven proslavery farmers out of Linn County, Kansas. In the late summer of 1858, John Brown led a group into Missouri and stole eleven slaves from Vernon County, nearly all the slaves in the county. In December he returned to the home of Harvey Hicklin near Hoover, Missouri. He stole five slaves, a yoke of oxen, two horses, one wagon, a shotgun, and other items. Then he went to the house of John LaRue and stole five slaves, the bed clothing and apparel, and six horses. Then he took LaRue and another man hostage to ensure his escape.[13] "Bleeding Kansas" had moved into "Bleeding Missouri".

In addition to the feelings over slavery and land titles, the national economic picture also influenced events along the Kansas-Missouri border. The "Panic of '57" led to a shortage of money on the frontier, which meant many of the settlers in Kansas, who had gone into debt to settle there, were in serious financial straits. In addition, there was a major drought in Kansas in 1859 and settlers found themselves without crops as well as without cash. Broke, hungry, and verging on desperation, they were easily stirred up by the Jayhawker leaders. Rich farms across the border in Missouri looked more and more tempting. Increasingly, the raids into Missouri became raids for plunder, rather than for political ends. Donald Gilmore says that the "poverty among Jennison's men would also explain the marauders' preoccupation with raiding the affluent, established farmers of Bates and Vernon Counties in Missouri."[14] Obviously, what affected those farmers also affected the churches to which they belonged.

Both the Northern and Southern churches had moved immediately to establish congregations in Kansas. Tucker reports that in 1856 the M.E. Church reported two districts and fifteen circuits. The M.E. South, Church reported two districts and twenty circuits.[15] Both churches were immediately identified with political positions. The Southern church was called pro-slavery, and the Northern abolitionist, even though both resisted the labels and insisted they were there only to serve the people.

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[13] Donald L. Gilmore, Civil War on the Missouri-Kansas Border. Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing Col, 2006 pp. 95-96

[14] Ibid., p. 102. Jennison was Charles Rainsford "Doc" Jennison, leader of the Jayhawkers who committed the worst atrocities in Missouri.

[15] Tucker, op.cit., p. 144

The War Years

The election of 1860 led Southerners to believe that a radical abolitionist would be sitting in the White House. Beginning with South Carolina, the Southern states seceded from the Union. Governor Claiborne Jackson quickly moved to defend Missouri and take it out of the Union. His attempt failed, thanks to decisive action by Nathaniel Lyon, a Federal officer, who quickly secured control of the Missouri River, and cut the state in half. Union troops poured into the state from three sides, led by the Jayhawker regiments from Kansas. These troops assumed, wrongly, that all Missourians automatically approved of secession, and began to harass the civilian population. The suffering this harassment brought about led to the guerilla warfare that left Missouri with bitter feelings, some of which linger until today.

The only battles of any significance in Missouri took place in the late summer of 1861. The first was Wilson's Creek, near Springfield. Confederate forces under Sterling Price, Ben McCulloch, and N.B. Pearce decisively defeated Lyon's Union troops. Lyon was killed in the fighting and his troops fell back to Rolla. Price then moved into northwest Missouri and, in mid-September won another fight at Lexington, known as the "Battle of the Hemp Bales." This success encouraged thousands of recruits to join Price, and a rump session of the legislature called by Governor Jackson passed an ordinance of secession on October 28. But by early 1862, Federal troops forced Price and his State Guard to leave Missouri.

A state of martial law was established at the end of August 1861, and remained in effect throughout the war. Military passes were necessary to move from one part of the state to another. Trade was licensed, newspapers were censored, and regulations governed the hours of taverns and other places of amusement. Provost marshals became the basic police power in the state, supported by the military. They had basically unlimited powers of arrest and detention. In addition, a "test oath" was instituted. Those who swore allegiance to the Union by mid-December 1861 were assumed to be loyal. All others were labeled "secesh" and subject to fines or confiscation of property.

In September of 1861 James Lane led a raid toward Osceola, Missouri, with the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Kansas Jayhawker Regiments. He shelled the town before

attempting to enter it. Once the Jayhawkers entered the battered town, they helped themselves freely to whatever stuck their fancy. "Anything that could be carried away comfortably was taken: horses, cows, fowl, furniture, clothing, jewelry and slaves."[16] Wagons were stolen first, and loaded with the goods. One gentleman came back with a communion service for his church in Lawrence and silk dresses for his wife. The Jayhawkers shot nine citizens and burned all but four of the 300 buildings in town. About a million dollars worth of property had been stolen or destroyed, and the town ceased to exist. On September 22, the population of Osceola was 2,500. On the 24th, it was 183. The churches, naturally, ceased to exist along with the town.

Bruce Nichols lists several reasons why Missourians were angry enough to oppose the Federal Government and to go South to join Sterling Price's army, or to engage in guerilla warfare at home.

1. The suspension of civil rights.
2. The occupation of Missouri by Union troops
3. The extremism of abolitionists and the emotional issues of slavery.
4. Jayhawker raids (under Union command) on western Missouri towns.
5. Lyon's seizure of the Missouri State Guard and the street violence that followed.
6. The use of large numbers of German immigrants in St. Louis as Union troops.
7. The squelching of the Southern press by Union authorities
8. Harsh military measures, such as the draft, impressing private property.
9. Recruiting black troops, control of all traffic on the rivers, foraging, and the provost marshals[17]

Others joined guerilla bands because of personal experience. Many fought because they had a relative or close friend abused or killed by someone representing Union forces. In the case of my own family, two young men who were related to my great-great-grandfather joined the guerillas because they had seen Jayhawkers gun down their father in his own front yard.

Guerillas fought to challenge the Union hold on the state. They had no real hope they could ever take back the state from northern occupation, but they could keep thousands of Union troops tied down in Missouri instead of fighting in the east, and

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[16] Paul. R. Petersen, Quantrill at Lawrence. Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing Co., 2011. p. 146
[17] Bruce Nichols, Guerilla Warfare in Civil War Missouri. Volume II, 1863. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2007 p. 8

they hoped to soften up the Yankees until such time as a regular Confederate army could invade and drive them out. So they interrupted stage and mail service, captured Union wagon trains with military supplies, ambushed Union patrols, and fought to protect Southern property and lives.

Jayhawkers and other Federal troops were devastating western Missouri, looting, burning, and destroying property. They were doing what occupying armies always do in the face of resistance – taking strong measures to put down that resistance. In addition, they were resorting to torture of civilians in order to gain information about the guerillas and their whereabouts. They also used torture, or threats of torture, to force people to tell where their treasures were buried. My grandfather used to tell about how his grandfather was strung up by his thumbs by Jesse James to force him to tell where his gold was. My great-great-grandfather, to whom my grandfather was referring, was a Southern Methodist local preacher. Given that fact, and, given the fact that such torture would have been out of character for Jesse James, who had seen his own step-father hung by the neck by Jayhawkers in an attempt to gain information about the presence of guerillas, and given the fact that such behavior was typical of Jayhawker regiments and other Federal troops, I suspect that my great-great-grandfather was mistreated by Jayhawkers and not by Jesse James. Add to that the fact that he had at least two relatives who were riding with William Quantrill and I'm convinced that was the case.

In brief outline, that is how the war developed in Missouri. We now turn to the question of how the war affected the churches. J. E. Godbey was riding the Independence Circuit of the M.E. Church, South in 1861. He reports "at the town of Warrensburg, where I stopped for the first night, I was taken from my lodging and the mule from the stable, and we were both conducted to headquarters of Col. Grover, to give account. The mule had no trouble. He was too small for service and was at once dismissed as having taken no part in the rebellion, although he was in fact a very rebellious mule. I was told that being a Southern Methodist preacher was an

unfavorable circumstance in my case, but when some Union men vouched for me as a peaceable citizen I was let go."[18]

Godbey recounts another instance where the war and the church crossed paths. He was sitting in the office of W.M. Leftwich, the pastor of the Independence station, when Mrs. Leftwich came in and reported "the Jayhawkers are coming". This would have been one of those Jayhawker regiments under the command of Col. Jennison. The two preachers saw about 600 soldiers coming in from Kansas City and houses in flames along the road behind them. The soldiers set guards in the streets and began to arrest all the men in town and march them to the public square. The two preachers went up into the steeple to watch. They saw stores broken into and wagons being loaded with goods. Houses were set on fire. The Jayhawkers got the preachers down by threatening to burn the church, and then arrested them and took them to the square. Godbey says "the purpose of the Jayhawkers was only to put the men in a situation to be helpless while they robbed stores and houses and took jewelry from the women." Jennison then made a speech about loyalty, saying he would leave an enrolling officer to enlist every man able to fight into his regiment. He would return in a week and burn out every man who refused to enlist. The enrolling officer had many names on his list. "One evening a lythe (sic)young man rode to the enrolling office, walked to the desk, and asked the officer to show him the roll, which he did. The man took the roll in his left hand, drew a revolver with his right, walked backward out of the house, mounted his horse, and rode away, saying the list belonged to Price, not Jennison. The young man was well known to most of the citizens. His name was Jesse James."[19] Indeed, persons of Southern sympathies, including clergy, looked on the guerillas as protectors. Men like Jesse and Frank James, William Quantrill, and all the others, were heroes to the Southern population, and were fed and sheltered by them whenever they could be.

Nathan Scarritt said in a letter to the Christian Advocate, "some of our preachers in the southern portion of the Conference have been compelled to quit the field and leave the work for the present on account of the violence.... Several of them have had their horses stolen from them by the Jayhawkers. Repeated threats of hanging,

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[1818] J.E. Godbey, Lights and Shadows of Seventy Years. St. Louis: St. Louis Christian Advocate Co., 1913. p. 42

[19] Ibid., pp. 48-49

shooting, etc., have been made against them; though no attempt, so far as we know, has been made in the form of any overt act."[20] As we shall see shortly, overt acts soon began to be a part of the persecution of Southern preachers.

For example, D. J. Marquis, a member of the St. Louis Conference was arrested at Tipton on the charge of being a Southern Methodist minister. He was "taken to Jefferson City, abused by the officers, kept in the dungeon under the state capitol over twenty-four hours without a mouthful of food, taken out, abused, put on board a steamer, and sent up to Boonville."[21] He was eventually released by order of General Fremont. D.R. McAnally, the editor of the St. Louis Christian Advocate, a southern paper, was arrested on April 21, 1862, and put in the Myrtle Street Prison. He was charged with violation of the Articles of War because he had published certain articles. It turned out that most of the articles in question had been copied from foreign quarterlies. He was released on parole, but arrested again on May 10, 1863. In 1861 he had been accosted by a mob of Home Guards, who threatened to destroy his home and church "because I had publicly baptized a child whose parents chose to name it Harry Beauregard."[22] Beauregard, of course, was the name of a Confederate General, the one who had commanded at the firing on Fort Sumter.

Finally Lewis reports that M. M. Pugh, pastor of the South church in Kansas City said "In the summer of 1862 I was greatly annoyed and frequently threatened by a Northern Methodist preacher, who had command of a company in Kansas City at the time. He said...that South Methodist preachers should be hunted and punished. I mention this to show that we were not persecuted for evil-doing, but simply because we were Southern Methodists." [23] It is also telling that the Northern preacher was in command of a company of Union troops, so he had some serious power to back up what he was saying about Southern Methodists! Pugh ultimately left Kansas City in April of 1863. The Northern church seized both the property in Kansas City and Independence after the southern ministers had been driven out.

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[20] Quoted in W. H. Lewis, The History of Methodism in Missouri for a Decade of Years From 1860 to 1870. Nashville: The Publishing House of the M.E. Church, South, 1890. p.38
[21] Ibid., p. 48
[22] Ibid., p. 82
[23] Ibid., p. 87

Andrew Monroe, the patriarch of Southern Methodism in Missouri, after being arrested several times for being a Southern preacher, also had his property pillaged. In 1864, a company of Kansas soldiers (Jayhawkers) stopped at his house and robbed it of everything of value. "Mr. Monroe's watch, a fine cloth coat, several pairs of bed-blankets, quilts, comforts, and, indeed, everything of any value to them.[24] All of these examples were fairly minor, compared to the burning of Osceola, or the destruction of homes, farms, churches, stores, in the western tier of counties along the Missouri – Kansas border. But they are a continuing record of the harsh treatment meted out to Missourians (in this case Southern Methodist preachers) simply because they were considered Southern sympathizers, and because they might be aiding the guerillas.

The Northern church met with some of the same difficulties but, because they were protected by the Union army, prospered for the most part, particularly in those parts of the state north of the Missouri River, and in St. Louis. In 1862, the Annual Conference met at Union Church, St. Louis. Seven churches – Kansas City, Sedalia, Boonville, Lexington, Independence, Tipton, and Springfield – reopened and Cape Girardeau and Rolla were about to reopen.[25] Cape Girardeau and Springfield were two churches that had remained with the North in 1844, and were closed temporarily because of the presence of the Confederate army. Kansas City and Independence were two locations where we know Northern preachers, with military help, had driven out the Southern preachers and taken over their property.

In fact, property was a major issue. On November 30, 1862, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton had issued an order to all the Generals of the Union Army that they were to turn over to Bishop Edward R. Ames, of the Northern church, "all houses of worship belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in which a loyal minister, who has been appointed by a loyal Bishop of said Church does not officiate."[26] In addition, the army was ordered to give support to Bishop Ames in securing such property, with the understanding that Ames alone would know which pastors were loyal. President Lincoln modified the order when he learned of it, so that it applied only

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[24] Cited in Leftwich, Martyrdom in Missouri, p. 373-74

[25] Glenn Baldwin, "The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Great Schism," St. Louis Annual Conference Journal, 1958, p. 161

[26] Frederick A. Norwood, Sourcebook of American Methodism. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1982 p. 322

to those states that were in "rebellion". This technically meant that the order did not apply to Missouri, though in practice it did. The Missouri Conference of the Northern church passed a resolution thanking Bishop Ames for his zeal, but stating that they did not want any property to which they were not legally entitled. The examples of Kansas City and Independence indicate that they were at least individually perfectly willing to take over Southern church property, however. In January of 1864 the keys to the Independence church were taken by military order and given to Rev. James Lee, a Northern pastor. Later in the year, the pastor obtained a military order to remove the widow Brazil and her children from the parsonage so he could occupy it. Not until 1867, with a civil suit pending, did the Northern church surrender the property to the Southern pastor.

Another problem for the church was the series of "test oaths," a form of loyalty oath which all pastors, teachers, and other community leaders were forced to sign before they could practice their professions. The test oath declared that the signer had not been and was not now, in rebellion against the United States. The Methodist conferences also could not meet unless all the members had signed the loyalty oath. It was a "test" of who could be considered a loyal citizen. For example, in 1864, the Missouri Conference of the M.E. Church, South was told by the Provost Marshal of the Military Sub-District around Mexico, Missouri, that they could not organize or conduct business until they had taken the loyalty oath which read "I, ____of the County of _____ in the state of Missouri, do solemnly swear that I will bear allegiance to the Unted (*sic*) and support and sustain the Constitution and laws thereof; that I will maintain the National Sovereignty paramount to that of all State, County, or Confederate powers: that I will discourage, discountenance and forever oppose secession, rebellion, and the disintegration of the Federal Union: that I disclaim and denounce all faith and fellowship with the so-called Confederate armies and pledge my honor, my property, and my life to the sacred performance of this my sacred oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States of America." Since more than one member of the conference was currently serving in Texas or Louisiana as a chaplain in the Confederate army, it's hard to see how all the details of that oath could be faithfully obeyed. But the Provost Marshal insisted that it was required as a condition of the conference convening. The Conference refused to take it, since its members had already

taken the oath prescribed by a state convention in 1862. The members of the conference said they had met the requirements of Order No. 61 and refused to take this new test. They appealed to the Provost Marshal General, who ordered his subordinate to allow the conference to organize.

The Missouri Conference of the Southern church previously had not met in 1862, because of the war, but held regular sessions in 1863 and 1864, with Andrew Monroe presiding (and, apparently, making all the appointments). This was because Southern bishops could not cross the Federal lines to come to Missouri to preside over the conference. The St. Louis Conference met in 1861, with no bishop, but not again until 1864. Statistically, we can see how the Southern church suffered in Missouri during the war. The St. Louis Conference had 10 districts and 91 preaching appointments in 1860. In 1865, there were but five districts and 54 charges. Membership dropped from 25, 365 in 1860 to 8,075 in 1866. The Missouri Conference had 8 districts, 82 pastoral charges and 25,420 members in 1860. In 1866, it had 5 districts, 50 pastoral charges, and 12,102 members.[27]

What happened to all those churches? Osceola was burned in 1861, Bolivar in 1860. These were two of the churches along the border with Kansas that suffered from Jayhawker raids almost continually. Other churches were seized by the Union army and used for stables, storage, ammunition depots, and hospitals. Church members went underground in many places, so they would not suffer persecution because of being Southern Methodists.

Northern Methodists in Missouri reported 7764 members in 1860 and 7697 in 1865. In 1865 they reported 23 church buildings.[28] We don't know if that number included the buildings seized from the South church or not.

The fear of persecution was a very real one, and was bolstered by the murders of more than one minister of the church. We have accounts of the murders of at least seven Southern Methodist ministers, simply because of their church affiliation. They were Green Woods, George L. Sexton, John L. Wood, Edwin Robinson, Thomas Glanville,

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[27] W. S. Woodard, Annals of Methodism in Missouri. Columbia, MO: E.W. Stephens, 1893. pp. 305-306
[28] Glenn Balwin, "The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Great Schism," op. cit., p. 162.

Thomas Johnson, and Samuel S. Headlee.[29] Of these, only Thomas Johnson was actively involved in "southern issues." He was a part of the group that wrote the pro-slavery constitution for Kansas, and represented the pro-slavery government in Washington for a time. He is also the only one of the seven for whom it is not clear just who killed him.

In the case of Green Woods, we have an account written by his daughter and preserved in Leftwich. Woods served a preaching appointment in a Southern church in the spring of 1862. He was warned by a member of the Northern church that no Southern preacher would ever preach in that church again. Woods did, and then returned home. The next day he was planting corn when a group of men dressed as Federal soldiers ransacked his home and ordered Woods to come with them. This was a Monday, and his murdered body was not found until the following Monday. His widow named some of the men who took her husband and implicated them in the murder. At least one was a Northern Methodist.

John L. Wood was killed March 21, 1864 in Unionville. Some Union soldiers shot him in the back after he had been pointed out as a Southern Methodist preacher.

Edwin Robinson was standing on the steps of a hotel about two miles from Glasgow, Missouri, when a squad of Federal soldiers rode up. Accounts differ as to just when in the conversation he was shot, but the captain in charge of the soldiers is reported to have said that simply being a Southern Methodist preacher was enough to damn him. The troops then rode away, threatening that anyone who moved the body would be killed also. The women of the community brought fence rails to protect the body from the hogs and went for a wagon to take the body to his wife in Fayette.

Samuel S. Headlee was murdered by a mob in what was perhaps a quarrel over property, or perhaps anger over a Northern Methodist preacher being hanged in Texas for trying to start a slave insurrection. It is clear that a Northern Methodist was involved with the mob.

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[29] John O. Gooch, "Southern Methodist Martyrs," in *Toward the Setting Sun, Second Series, Vol. 8, No. 1, Fall 2009,* pp. 1 – 17. Primary sources include W.M. Leftwich, Martyrdom in Missouri, W.S. Woodard, Annals of Methodism in Missouri, and Andrew Monroe, Recollections.

That brings us to the most famous guerilla action of the war, Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, Kansas in 1863. It had long been known that Lawrence was the center of Jayhawker activity and the place where goods stolen from Missouri homes and businesses were stored. Many of those good were auctioned off to Kansans; others were shipped to Colorado mining districts and sold. Lawrence was also one of the homes of Jim Lane, Charles Jennison, and of several Jayhawker regiments. Quantrill gathered some 200 guerillas for his raid on Lawrence. The raiders attacked the military camps, handily defeating the "Red-leg" regiments.[30] They had a list of wanted men, men who had consistently raided into Missouri, looting and burning. Those men were systematically hunted down and many of them killed. Their property was burned in retaliation for the burning of Missouri homes. Some have claimed that Quantrill's men massacred unarmed men and boys in the streets of Lawrence. The facts show that the Redlegs were armed. Some of them fought back. Others threw their guns away and tried to escape. Many of those who surrendered were protected by direct order from Quantrill.[31] Others were shot after being reminded their regiments had murdered old men and women in Missouri. Public buildings known to be centers of abolitionism or Redleg headquarters were burned, but certainly not the whole town. The banks were robbed, and the money divided among the guerillas to be given to Missourians who had lost everything due to Jayhawker raids. The most spectacular fires were those of the warehouses filled with stolen goods. Guerilla leader William Gregg estimated that there were 40 shanties filled with stolen goods, including bedding, bureaus, sideboards, and pianos. Cole Younger said they contained "thousands and thousands of dollars worth of pianos and carpets and old mahogany furniture and silver-plate that had been stripped from the homes of Southern sympathizers."[32] Gregg said he recognized much of the stolen goods and contended that the fires we started that morning destroyed as much property that had belonged to Jackson County (MO) people as that belonging to the citizens of Lawrence."[33]

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[30] Paul R. Peterson, Quantrill at Lawrence, The Untold Story. Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing Co. 2011. A detailed account of the raid is found on pages 229-325
[31] Ibid., p. 268 is one of several instances
[32] Ibid., p. 304
[33] Ibid. p. 304

In response to the Lawrence raid, Gen. Thomas Ewing issued the famous Order No. 11, requiring that all persons living in several counties along the western border of Missouri be removed. His reasoning was that unless those counties were vacated, the border war would continue. This led to great suffering for persons of both Southern and Northern sympathies, since the Order did not discriminate, and families were often forced to move before the deadline, under threat from Jayhawkers and other Union forces.

After the War

With the war's end, the Methodist Episcopal Church tried to assimilate the bleeding Southern church. The Northerners said, or at least implied, that the cause of separation had been slavery. Slavery was now gone in the United States, so there was no need for the church to be split any longer. The Southern church and its members should now come home to the "true" church, the "mother church." The Missouri/Arkansas Conference of the M.E. Church, meeting in the spring of 1865, issued an invitation to all Southerners who "did truly and earnestly repent of their sins, and were in love and fellowship with the loyal religion and religious loyalty of the Mother Church." In fact, things did not look good for the Southern church. Some were ready to give up and go back to the M.E. Church. Others talked of joining the Protestant Episcopal Church. Things did not look good for the Southern church, particularly in Missouri. Much of the church property was still in Northern hands. The membership was scattered and broken.

In the midst of the despair, Missouri stepped to the front. As W.H. Lewis said, as God chose Moses to lead Israel and Martin Luther to lead the Reformation, so God chose Andrew Monroe to save the Southern church. In the late spring of 1865, Monroe called for a meeting of the preachers and leading laymen of the Missouri Conference in Palmyra on June 22, to report on the state of the church and decide its future. There was considerable doubt about the future of the church. The Missouri Conference in 1860 had reported 17,717 white and 2.006 colored members. In 1866 (a year later than the Palmyra Conference) the membership had dropped to 11,551 white and 346 colored

members.[34] The 1866 numbers probably would represent an increase over 1865. When the conference met, Monroe was elected President, just as he had been during the war years. As they called the roll of the conference, each preacher stood and gave an account of the condition of the church in his appointment or neighboring appointments. The conference then set about to determine what to do next. At stake was the question "does the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, still have a purpose in the postwar world, or has it outlived its usefulness?" A committee was appointed to prepare a report on that question. While the committee was meeting, the conference decided to not take the Test Oath, and did not reply to the invitation of the Missouri/Arkansas Conference of the Northern church. Bishop H.H. Kavanaugh arrived from Kentucky on the second day of the conference, which was a boost to morale.

The committee report said, first, that the M.E. Church, South, had always claimed to be a part of the original Methodist Church and a co-equal part of the church after separation. It claimed bad faith on the part of the Northern church in regard to its rejection of the Plan of Separation. It called attention to the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States had recognized the legitimacy of the Plan of Separation and had forced the Northern church to cede the Southern share of property and of the book fund. It argued that the differences had not been swept away by the results of the war and the elimination of slavery. The church had divided partly on the question of slavery, but also on the question of whether the episcopacy was subordinate to the General Conference, or a co-equal branch of church government. The latter question had never been settled.

The report further said that if the Southern church were to go into the Methodist Episcopal Church, it would admit that their previous positions had been wrong, and would have accepted a political test of church fellowship, because they would be admitting that their church would stand or fall with the institution of slavery. It accused the Northern church of using the invitation to get their hands on all the Southern church property, which they had failed to do in the Supreme Court.

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[34] Tucker, op .cit., p. 179

On a more positive note, the report said that to be absorbed by any other church would not be right, because the people of the church had been consulted and had said they wanted to maintain the M. E. Church, South, intact.

The Missouri Conference, in this "Palmyra Manifesto" clearly saw a difference between the civil issue of slavery that had split the nation and the ecclesiastical issue of episcopal authority which had split the church. They refused to reunite as a matter of survival, when the main points of difference had not been decided.

The St. Louis Christian Advocate for December 7, 1865 included a letter from a correspondent who had traveled across north Missouri: "Old men, who had clung to the Church through all the storm, lifted up their voices and wept for joy when they read the reports of the Palmyra meeting, and rode over their neighborhoods to scatter the glad tidings that the ship would not be given up. I saw one old man, now over sixty, who walked three miles to obtain a copy of the proceedings, and then wore it out reading it to his neighbors."

The response throughout the South was equally enthusiastic. Bishop Kavanaugh said the people of the south drew strength from the Palmyra meeting.[35] They thought if the Missouri church, which had suffered more than any other state, and still stood under the oppression of the test oath, could say the Church would stand, then all the church would rally to the standard and keep the Southern Church "at all hazards and to the last extremity." Enoch M. Marvin, himself a Missouri preacher, who spent most of the war in exile in Texas, said that the report of the meeting was like the trumpet calling knights to battle, inspiring hope and confidence.[36]

The bishops of the M.E. Church, South, also responded, and issued a pastoral address in which they said that the questions of 1844 had not been settled by the war. The fact that the northern church insisted on social dogmas and political tests for church membership meant that the church had become too radical. They rejected all suggestions for reunion, and called for a General Conference in 1866.

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[35] G. Gay Harris, "A Remnant Shall Remain," *Toward the Setting Sun,* Volume IV, No. 1, October 1985, p. 41

[36] Leftwich, op.cit., Volume II, p. 319

The Northern church had not given up. An editorial in The Central Christian Advocate said that the M.E. Church had to occupy the south, and to restore unity by taking over the former Southern church. The Northern churches invited Southern churches to return individually, or in small groups. This was a "divide and conquer" strategy, and it might have been successful save for the Palmyra Conference and its leadership in strengthening the church. But the Southern leadership insisted the only reunion could be that of two denominations. They had separated as a body and would come back only as a body. It was not until 1876 that the Northern church recognized the Southern church as a permanent and legitimate body. After that, the wounds of war could begin to heal.

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